Vyu	Mahāvyutpatti 2nd edn, St Petersburg 1911 (I.D. Mironov)
Mil	Milinda-Pañha (Trenckner), London 1880
Vin	Vinaya-Piṭaka (Oldenberg), I-V, London 1879-83
Vibh	Vibhaṅga
Vv	Vimāna-vatthu
Vism	Visuddhi-magga
SN	Saṃyutta-Nikāya
Saddh	Saddhammopāyana
Saddh-s	Saddhammopāyana-sannaya (:Abhayagiri (Kavi-) Cakravarti Ananda, PLC p.212); Sinhalese Print, Colombo 1874 (Baṭuvantuḍāvē), 2nd edn 1911
Samantak	Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā
Sn	Sutta-nipāta
Sv	Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, Ct. on DN, Bangkok 1920 plus (vol.I) PTS (RhD), 1886 + (vol.I), Hew. Bequ. 1918

OTHER TEXTS

Ṛtus	Ṛtusaṃhāra of Kālidāsa
Jāt-m	Jātakamālā (see Bib. s.v. Speyer)
Divy	Divyāvadāna (Cowell & Neil), Cambridge 1886
Dharmapr	Dharmapradīpikā (see Bib.s.v. Dharmarama)
Mvu	Mahāvastu (Senart), I-III, Paris 1882-97
Mkp	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (see Bib. s.v. Pargiter)
Śikṣā-s	Śikṣā-samuccaya (see Bib. s.v. Bendall)
SUS	Saddharma-smṛti-upasthāna (see. Bib. s.v. Matsunaga)

TWO NOTES ON *Visuddhimagga* IX.

I. The etymology of *puggala*.

Buddhaghosa's etymological explanation of *puggala* is well-known: it has been remarked on in the *PED s.v. puggala*. The text[1] reads:

> *Pun ti vuccati nirayo, tasmiṃ galantī ti puggalā; gacchantī ti attho.*[2]

"There is a hell called *pun*; they are called *puggalā* ('individuals') because they slip into it, meaning that they go to it."

This is the kind of etymology found in many religious traditions; it is not to be understood as a linguistic comment but rather as a didactic remark. While such homiletic observations are not always as fussy about phonetics as linguists have to be, one may wonder why Buddhaghosa should have chosen an analysis of the word *puggala* which should yield *puṅgala*.

Buddhaghosa is referring to the brahminical etymology found in *Manu*:

> *Punnāmno narakād yasmāt trāyate pitaraṃ sutaḥ*
> *tasmāt putra iti proktaḥ svayam eva svayambhuvā.*[3]

"The self-existent one himself called a son *putra*, because he saves (*trāyate*) his father from a hell[4] called *put*."

This in turn goes back to Yāska:

> *Putraḥ puru trāyate niparaṇād vā puṃ narakaṃ tatas trāyata iti vā.*[5]

"The word is *putra* either because he saves much (*puru*) from offering rice to the dead or because *put* is a hell and he saves from that."

In both these passages I have translated the name of the hell as *put* although the Sanskrit reads *pun* (of which *puṃ* is, before *n*, a mere graphic variant). The sandhi makes it ambiguous

whether the name is *pun* or *put*. However, the former would yield *puntra*, whereas the latter yields *puttra*. According to Pāṇini a consonant other than *h* can always be doubled before or after *r*, so *puttra* and *putra* are truly equivalent.[6]

If Buddhaghosa was calling the hell *put*, his etymology would work for Sanskrit just as well as for Pali: by regular sandhi it would yield *pudgala*, the Sanskrit form of *puggala*. His etymology of *puggala*, whether or not he invented it, is clearly a humorous and satirical reference to the brahminical etymology of *putra*. It makes little sense to posit that he knew the Sanskrit "etymology" without knowing its phonetics. So I propose that we must emend the text to read "*Put ti vuccati ...* ".

II. An imperfect form in Pali.

A few paragraphs further on in the text,[7] Buddhaghosa uses the form *abhāsatha*, "he said". It comes at the end of an *anuṣṭubh* line, so it is fairly well guaranteed by the metre. It is of course parallel to Sanskrit *abhāṣata*, and the aspiration of the *t* recalls both the *ātmanepada* aorist 3 sg. forms in *-ttha* and the aspiration of the *parasmaipada* imperative 2 pl. which gives us forms like *hotha* for the imperative as well as for the indicative. Several similar forms have been recorded by Geiger[8]: *ajāyatha, samapajjatha,* etc. These and other forms listed by Geiger as "of imperfect origin" make one wonder whether the description of Pali as lacking the imperfect (Sanskrit: *laṅ*) is due to anything but the dead hand of tradition. Be that as it may, I mention *abhāsatha* here because the form, found close to the etymology discussed above, suggests to me that Buddhaghosa was thinking in Sanskrit. This in turn may serve to corroborate the tradition that he was born an Indian brahmin.

OXFORD   RICHARD GOMBRICH

NOTES

[1] I use the edition by H.C. Warren and D. Kosambi in the *Harvard Oriental Series* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950) and follow their punctuation.

[2] IX,54, p. 257.

[3] *Manusmṛti* IX,138.

[4] In both Sanskrit passages I have translated "a hell", because brahmins believe in many hells; but the translation "hell, which is called *put*" is also possible.

[5] Yāska, *Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa* 2,3,2, ed. Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1885), Vol. II, p. 199.

[6] *Puttra* can be formed for *putra* by VIII,4,7: *anaci ca*. This rule in fact permits any consonant but *h* to be doubled when it is not followed by a vowel, i.e., when it stands first in a consonant cluster or is final. I am grateful to Dr. J.W. Benson for this reference.

[7] IX,67, p. 259.

[8] Wilhelm Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language,* tr. B. Ghosh (2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956), § 161.